

[349 cont.]

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[435]
[437]

tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

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[251]

Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

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When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapetí, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[198]

The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

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Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

• [229]
[482]

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

1926 Chané, /

arm of the river; in waist-deep water they enter it with their bows and arrows and shoot them there, and any that escape the arrow the women go after with nets into which they fall."

/Translated from the Spanish./



Fig. 18. Landing net of cotton thread (puisa).
Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeytl. (1/19 nat. size.)

watercourse, leaving the fish dry, and catch them by hand or with a sieve (?). Iron fishhooks are equally popular: the

2. Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 184-185) describes a curious way of catching fish which is in use among the Chané of the Itiyuro River. They set branches in the water, which give shade and attract the fish. They also put there a calabash with some scraps of corn. The fish enter the calabash, whose neck is narrow. When several fish have gone in, the women close the orifice of the calabash with the hand and pull it up to the surface.

/351/

226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
 • [227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to
 harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach

[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are
 marvelous swimmers.

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The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

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1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguano plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish: and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

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 439

Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matakó, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
 [484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

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[992]

[204]

252



Fig. 19. Wooden needle (timosa) with which the Chiriguano thread the fish they have caught in order to be able to carry them more conveniently around the waist. Prov.: Tintapow. (1/3 nat. size.)



Fig. 20. Arrow used to catch fish. The points are of iron wire: formerly they were made of cactus spines. Prov.: Pípi. (1/2 nat. size.)



Fig. 21. Spear 4.70 meters long, which the Chiriguano use to harpoon large surubá when the latter swim within their reach. Prov.: Ibopeytf. (1/33 nat. size.)

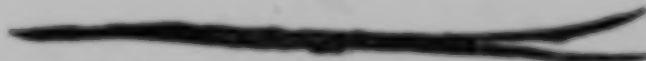


Fig. 22. Spit for roasting fish. Prov.: Ibopeytf. (1/7 nat. size.)

/77 cont./

[137] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
 [824] when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
 [262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it
 is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource
 for human life in the months of February and March. In
 Chiriguano it is called "Naregline." The cayupari is another
 cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its
 congenial land. /78/ since it is not found everywhere. It is
 admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray
 and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
 [372] by fowls. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
 [157] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The
 pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments,
 etc. They say that it is even good for guinea. There is
 another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centi-
 meters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines.
 [524] In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
 see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it
 roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is
 another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where
 it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
 [262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaro" in
 Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
 by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
 hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
 [342] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad
 [283] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick
 [492] stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters;
 from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are
 made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
 [286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
 [171] they call chipsa or "allapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
 [482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
 [227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers,
 and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in
 any part of the Old World.

When there are plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.¹⁾ In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people.²⁾ It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chaco are expert fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

C
27



a



b

Fig. 15. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.

a - R. M. E. 627. $\frac{1}{4}$ b - R. M. E. 627. $\frac{3}{4}$

¹⁾ Padre Benavente de Nino says, P. 251: "Del pescado es muy comun, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes rios hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilometros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maiz ó harina y la cambian por pescado."

²⁾ This is where they get their very clean habits and their eagerness to bath every day.

/187 cont./

the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few bags of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

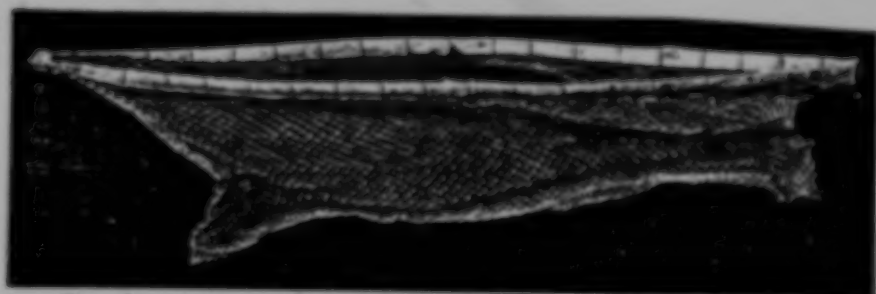


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

- 215 -



Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.¹

A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.²

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with



Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis, Bolivia. ¹/a. Rhem. 03. 3. 904

¹ Nordenskiöld (12), p. 40.

² Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 170 and 171.

C
411
197 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in Contact
with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling
made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C
224
[41] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly
used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the
ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C
[231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs
for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C
433
226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no op-
portunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory
and also the large rivers which are in their territory, except
for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other
than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance
in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they
utilize every chance they have to fish.

C
● 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any
fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points,
which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó
C
126
227 I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a
net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane
attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)

ce /44/
227
126
Fishing Implements in the Collection

I. A. 764. Fishing implement (Izozó). Length of the sticks 73.5 cm.
Width of the net 24 cm. (Fig. 39).

I. A. 795-801. Net bags for implements like I. A. 764 (Izozó).

ce
227
Because of the flexibility of the two cane sticks attached to the upper edge of the net bag, the bag can be made to open by tension on the two sticks of cane. The opening thus made closes quickly when the tension ends. Such an implement of the Chiriguano of the Parapití is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (203).

203. Nord. 1, Fig. 91.

ce
226
Among the other methods of fishing I shall mention, following v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld, the following: First, fishing by means of a gourd placed on the bottom of the river in the shade of a branch which is attached to the bottom near it. When the fish attracted by acidified maize have gathered inside the gourd, its opening is quickly closed with the hand (204). In addition the Indians of the Itiyuru River make

204. Nord. 1, p. 194 and Fig. 90.

oblong pools by building dikes (205), and those of the upper

205. Nord. 1, p. 185.

Pilcomayo River build large stone dikes for fishing (206). It

206. Nord. 2, pp. 43 and 44.

is said that on this river they use the bark of a particular tree to poison the water (207). They also fish with hooks, which

207. Nord. 2, p. 40.

C
ce
226
[439]
[171]
/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Chorote, the Churupí, the Matakó, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350
Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and
Fig. 216.

C
ce
227
411
Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211) and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit.,
Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 2, Fig. 15a.

Chané SP8
Izozo

/74/

Ce
286
352
126

Nets of the Collection That Are Made with the Technique Called "Knotentechnik" in German,
Using the Knot Called Reef Knot
in English

I. A. 360. Hammock (276) (Chané of the Parapiti), Caraguata.

276. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas.

Length 3.20 m. (Fig. 102c.)

I. A. 766. Hammock (Izozo). Caraguata. Length 1.80 m.

I. A. 794. " " " " 2.70 m.

I. A. 446. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Wool. Lgth 1.05 m.

I. A. 447. " " " " " 0.75 m.

I. A. 561-564, 567, 569-571. Nets for carrying loads (Chiriguano).

Caraguata. Length between 1.50 and 0.50 m.

(I. A. 567, Figs. 134 and 143; I. A. 568, Fig. 144.)

I. A. 767-787; 790-792. Nets for carrying loads (Izozo). Caraguata.

Length 1.60 m. and 0.65 m. (I. A. 768, Figs. 133

and 142; I. A. 772, Fig. 135.)

I. A. 785. Bag (Izozo). Caraguata. Length 0.82 m. Height 0.48 m.

I. A. 788 " " " " 0.62 m. " 0.62 m.

(Fig. 136.)

I. A. 793. Quadrangular net (Izozo). Caraguata. Length 0.90 m.

I. A. 764. Implement for fishing with net (Izozo). Length 73.5 cm.

(Fig. 39.)

I. A. 795-801. Nets for implements such as I. A. 764 (Izozo). Caraguata.

I. A. 508. Sling (Chiriguano). Caraguata. Length 15 cm.

I. A. 509. " " " " 14 cm.

From the large size of the mesh of nets I. A. 360, 766, and

794, it follows that they are hammocks. Because in Chiriguano

and Chané territory there are generally no fish except small

ones, nets for fishing must have considerably smaller meshes.

Of the Chiriguano nets for carrying loads, two are made of

wool and one of these has a band like most such nets from the

Izozo. The rest of these nets from the Chiriguano and the Izozo

are made of caraguata thread. Some of them have a rather small

mesh, but among those of the Izozo those with

big mesh are the rule.

C
Ce
286
415
482
126

Ce
415
286
126

Ce
[227]

C
411
286

C
Ce
286
352
227
136

C
Ce
415
286
482
[283]